ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.
ED002507	N.A.	N.A.

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW

4. AUTHOR(S): Rubin, Eleanor B.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED: The Spanish Speaking People in the United States

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: N.A.

7. EDITOR(S): N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN: ORG U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; ST. Washington, D. C.; CITY, STATE; TELE. EXT.; INST/LOC CODE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE: President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime Washington, D. C.

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	10

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE: YES ☒ NO ☐

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TYPE OF REPORT: PROPOSAL ☐ IN-PROGRESS ☒ FINAL ☐ FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR: Report

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

socioeconomic factors	housing	disadvantaged		
integration	cultural factors	health	Spanish speaking people	
demographic factors	occupations	voting	Puerto Ricans	migrant workers
environment	racial factors	civil rights	Mexican-Americans	Cubans

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS) A pilot study traced the history and background of Spanish speaking people in the United States and discussed their present position in American society in terms of education, housing, employment, administration of justice, voting, public accommodations, and health. Discrimination and the deprivation of civil rights were emphasized. Sources for the study were books, articles, U.S. Census reports, census tract data, questionnaires, and interviews. According to the 1960 census, 4,320,724 Spanish speaking people lived in the United States. Of the total, 3,465,000 lived in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. In the 1950's their history was different from other immigrant groups, because Spanish Americans and Puerto Ricans were conquered people upon whom the culture of the conquerors was superimposed. Their tradition of passive subservience to authority was the basic difficulty in their assimilation to American society. Factors complicating the assimilation process were language difficulties, skin color, cultural differences, and low socioeconomic status. Their education, housing, employment, health, income, and occupation conditions were poorer than other nonwhites and much poorer than the whites.

Based on the findings in the study, recommendations were made for the following: a national agency to help Spanish speaking people solve their problems; more field workers for Spanish speaking local organizations; noncompetitive scholarships at the junior and senior high school levels; an attack on the minority problem through programs combatting prejudice, discrimination, and exploitation; more detailed research studies covering a larger number of Spanish speaking people in every aspect of their lives; and a center for research to coordinate knowledge and programs on minority groups.

ERIC No. ... SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OR PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

ED002507

THE SPANISH SPEAKING PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES

A Pilot Study Prepared for the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights by Julian Samora, with the assistance of Donald N. Barrett and William V. D'Antonio

A Summary by Eleanor B. Rubin, Information Assistant
President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime

This study traces the history and background of Spanish speaking people in the United States, and discusses their present position in American society in terms of education, housing, employment, administration of justice, voting, public accomodations, and health. Emphasis is on discrimination and the deprivation of civil rights of these people.

The study was conducted from June 15, 1962 to September 15, 1962. It includes the following groups under the term "Spanish speaking people" - Mexican-Americans (Americans of Mexican decent), Puerto Ricans, Latin Americans (chiefly Cubans), Spanish Americans, and Mexicans.

Sources for the study were: books, articles and theses in the fields; U. S. Census reports and studies; selected census tract data; questionnaires sent to organizations concerned with the Spanish speaking people; and interviews with individuals and groups.

The study is divided into six sections:

I. Introduction

II. General Population Characteristics

III. Nature and Extent of Inequalities of Opportunity for Spanish speaking people with regard to education, employment, housing, public accomodations, voting, administration of justice and health. Subsection on Cubans in Miami.

IV. Migratory Labor

V. Summary and Conclusions

VI. Recommendations

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ED002507

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education

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I. In the Introduction, the relations between the Spanish speaking peoples and the Anglos (white, native Americans) are discussed. Throughout the past and down to the present day, there has been antagonism, animosity, and covert hostility between the two groups.

Much of this hostility is due to different value orientations of the Spanish speaking and the Anglos. The socio-cultural traditions of the Spanish speaking people include: a disdain for change; clinging to tradition; fatalism and defeatism; emphasis on being, not doing; geographic isolation; strong familism and kinship ties with the community; lack of formal education; patrón system of personal relations in government and the economy; passive role in society; focus on the present; strong religosity; rural backgrounds.

The values of the Anglo are in sharp contrast: progress and emphasis on the future; hard work; individual efforts; humanitarianism; freedom; efficiency and practicality; formal education; science and secular rationality; social mobility; nationalism and patriotism; geographic mobility.

These basic value differences must be kept in mind when viewing the Spanish speaking people in the United States.

Population

According to the 1960 census, 4,320,724 Spanish speaking people live in the United States. This, however, is a minimal figure, for it does not include the migrant laborers, the wetbacks, the Mexican commuters, those with work contracts in this country, and several other categories.

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Of the above total, 3,465,000 live in the five southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. Following is a breakdown of the Spanish speaking population in these states, according to the 1960 census:

STATE	SPANISH SPEAKING POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION	% OF SPANISH SPEAKING IN TOTAL POPULATION
Arizona	194,356	1,302,161	14.9%
California	1,426,538	15,717,204	9.3
Colorado	157,173	1,753,947	9.0
New Mexico	269,122	951,023	28.3
Texas	1,417,811	9,579,677	14.8

In the past ten years, the Spanish speaking people have become more mobile and have moved from rural to urban areas at high rates. In 1960, 93 percent of the Spanish speaking in California lived in urban areas; 61 percent in New Mexico lived in urban areas; 86 percent in Arizona lived in urban areas; 77 percent in Colorado lived in urban areas; and 83 percent in Texas lived in urban areas - all increases of at least 15 percent since 1950. The highest rates of mobility were in California, Arizona and Texas. A considerable number are also moving to other states and settling in urban areas.

Puerto Ricans began migrating to the United States after 1948 when Operation Bootstrap raised the level of living and aspirations of the masses and encouraged them to set their sights on the mainland. The bulk of the migrants are young urbanites who seek economic advancement. Most settle in New York City, but New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Florida, Connecticut, and Ohio also contain Puerto Ricans. According to the 1960 Census, a total

of 855,724 Puerto Ricans live on the mainland; 612,600 are in New York City, composing 7.9 percent of the City's total population. In addition, 25,000 farm migrants a year leave Puerto Rico for the farms of New Jersey and other Eastern states. Under the protection of the Bureau of Employment and Migration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican migrants receive more protection than other transient laborers.

The Cuban population is concentrated in Florida. As of August 17, 1962, 138,652 Cuban refugees had registered at the Refugee Center in Miami.

II. General Characteristics of the Spanish Speaking Population

Compared to the Anglos, the Spanish speaking people in the Southwest have lower incomes, higher fertility rates, higher unemployment, less home ownership, less education, and are relatively younger. Each of these points is elaborated upon in the following section.

III. Nature and Extent of Inequalities of Opportunity for Spanish Speaking People

A. Education

The Spanish speaking people have a long historical tradition of poor educational facilities and a lack of public education. Segregation and discrimination still exist in many schools, but is most marked in Texas where there are three separate school systems - one Mexican, one Negro and one Anglo. In other states, "Mexican rooms" in schools are common. The Mendez case in Texas in 1948 made illegal the segregation of Mexicans or other Latin American pupils in separate classes or schools and has improved the situation to some degree.

Of the five southwestern states, Texas does least to educate the Spanish speaking. The median number of school years completed by the Spanish speaking in Texas is 4.7 in 1960. This compares with 7.0 years in Arizona, 7.7 in New Mexico, 8.1 in Colorado and 8.6 in California. Anglos complete from three to six years more schooling than the Spanish speaking.

Usually the non-whites (Negroes and Indians) have more schooling than the Spanish speaking. In California, for example, 24 percent of the Spanish speaking, 3.6 percent of the Anglos, and 12 percent of the non-whites had 4 years or less education. In Texas, 52 percent of the Spanish speaking, 6.3 percent of the Anglos and 23.6 of the non-whites had less than 4 years of education.

The percent of Spanish speaking with a high school education or more are as follows: Arizona 14.6%; California 24.4%; Colorado 18.3%; New Mexico 18.9%; and Texas 11.7%.

In a breakdown by counties on the education and income of the Spanish speaking, the following conclusions were reached:

1. The median school years completed declines as the percentage of Spanish speaking increases in a county.

2. Educational achievement is higher in larger urban centers, except where there is a high percentage of Spanish speaking population.

3. The higher the percentage of Spanish speaking in a county, the lower the median income and the lower their earnings compared to non-Spanish speaking.

In Arizona, the counties with the lowest educational achievement in terms of school years completed, and the lowest income, are Apache, Pinal and

Navajo counties. Of Arizona cities, Phoenix ranks low in providing the Spanish speaking a decent education and income.

In California, Imperial County has the lowest number of school years completed, and the lowest income. Madera, Tulare and Kings follow. Of the cities, Fresno, Stockton, Bakersfield and Santa Barbara rank low.

In Colorado, Costilla County and the city of Pueblo have low rates of achievement for the Spanish speaking.

Mora County in New Mexico, followed by Guadalupe, Taos and San Miguel rank low.

As mentioned above, Texes does less for the education and income of the Spanish speaking than other states - especially in north Texas in Lubbock, Abilene, San Angelo and Odessa, and in Kenedy, Zapata and LaSalle counties.

Barriers to educational achievement for the Spanish speaking are found in 1) the schools themselves - inadequate facilities; language barriers; lack of enforcement of the laws by local officers; failure to adapt curricula to the pupils' backgrounds; prejudiced teachers; and 2) the attitudes of the children who internalize the inferiority, futility and frustration they encounter in the community in trying to get an education.

For Puerto Ricans, education does not provide adjustment to their new environment and has little relation to available job opportunities. Those who leave Puerto Rico are usually better educated than those who stay, but in comparison to U. S. citizens, they are much less educated. This situation is improving, however, due to obligatory school laws and more imaginative programs.

The following table shows the percentage of Puerto Ricans with 4 years or less schooling and the percentage of those who finished high school in each of seven cities in 1960:

CITY	% WITH 4 YEARS OR LESS EDUCATION	% FINISHING HIGH SCHOOL
Bridgeport (Conn.)	30.6	14.3
Chicago	30.0	12.1
Jersey City	28.9	13.1
Miami	24.2	26.1
New York	28.7	13.4
Newark	24.4	16.5
Philadelphia	30.9	13.6

B. Housing

The majority of Spanish speaking people live among themselves in separate communities or neighborhoods, whether in cities, rural areas, small towns, villages or migratory labor camps. Housing appears to be the only commodity in the American market which is not freely available to minority groups. The larger the population of Spanish speaking in the community, the worse their housing situation appears to be.

Not only is housing not freely available, but it is of poorer quality per dollar than housing of non-minority people. In New Mexico, for example, the value of the average urban home of the Spanish speaking is $3,533, while of the total population it is $7,105.

Dilapidated housing is greater among the Spanish speaking than among the Anglos. In Arizona, 32.4 percent of the dilapidated homes belong to the Spanish speaking, 8.6 to the whites and 38.47 to the non-whites. In Colorado, the Spanish speaking live in 24.3 percent of the dilapidated housing; the whites in 3 percent and the non-whites in 13.7 percent.

Overcrowding for the Spanish speaking is over two times as great as for the total population. Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, in that order, have the greatest overcrowding in housing. The higher rates of crowding are attributable to higher fertility rates, taking in boarders to pay the higher rents, the patterns of owners splitting homes to get more rental units, and the extended family pattern of the population.

Discrimination in housing manifests itself in the inability of Spanish speaking people to obtain loans for certain properties, realtors not showing certain properties to potential Spanish speaking buyers, the charging of higher rents to the Spanish speaking, and the outright refusal to rent or sell them properties.

In cities, small towns, and migrant labor camps, Puerto Ricans live in the worst yet most expensive housing. They move to other areas or suburbs depending on their income and skin color. Those who have moved out are usually second generation. Puerto Ricans are beginning to take advantage of public housing, but the following problems prevent their making full use of it: the language barrier and their fear of filling out forms; their recency of arrival (New York City requires two years of residency to be eligible); the frequent informality of their marriages; the large size of their families, since projects limit two persons to a bedroom.

Puerto Ricans in Miami are better off than elsewhere, for many own high valued homes with little crowding. The housing situation is worst in Jersey City and New York, in terms of dilapidation, overcrowding and high rents. According to a Fordham University professor, housing and loan sharking are the major problems facing the Puerto Rican in New York.

C. Employment

From early colonial times to the turn of the century, the Spanish speaking people engaged in agriculture and unskilled work. After World War I, many entered the industrial area in railroad employment. In the 1920s, they were employed in the steel and meat packing industries in the Midwest. During the depression, many returned to the Southwest or to Mexico bacause of unemployment, but came back to the Midwest during the Second World War.

Today, the Spanish speaking compose an unskilled labor pool. Their lack of opportunity in employment is due to the following factors: 1) poor education and training for particular kinds of work 2) double standards of wages 3) great competition for unskilled jobs, which in turn depresses wages 4) lack of organization by labor unions 5) discrimination in certain occupations.

According to the 1960 census, the median family income for the Spanish speaking was lower than for the whites in all five southwestern states, but higher than for the non-whites in every southwestern state except Colorado.

The following table shows the median family income for the Spanish speaking in the Southwest:

STATE	INCOME
Arizona	$4,226
California	$5,493
Colorado	$4,002
New Mexico	$3,551
Texas	$2,911

A high percentage of Spanish speaking families in New Mexico and Texas earn less than $1,000 a year.

A relatively small percentage of Spanish speaking people are in high status occupations and a high percentage in low status categories, such as laborers, operatives, kindred foremen, farm laborers and craftsmen. New Mexico has almost two times as many Spanish surnamed in high status work and fewer low status workers than the other southwestern states. Texas has the most in low status categories and Arizona the fewest in high status jobs.

A high percentage of the Spanish speaking are unemployed. In Nex Mexico, for example, in 1950, 10.9 percent of the Spanish speaking 5.8 percent of the non-whites (Indians), and 6.3 percent of the white population were unemployed.

Fifty percent of the 314 questionnaires completed indicated encountering some form of discrimination in employment. This may have been revealed by difficulty in getting employment, the inability to attain higher status jobs, or differential wages for the same job. The problem of discrimination is more difficult for the Spanish speaking than for the Negro because it is more subtle and thus harder to prove in court. In addition, the Spanish speaking have no strong organization or leadership in the Southwest to engage in prolonged civil rights controversies.

Puerto Ricans earn less on the average than the general white or non-white populations. The following table shows the median family income for Puerto Ricans, non-whites and Anglos in 1959:

CITY	PUERTO RICAN	NON-WHITE	ANGLO
New York	$3,839	$4,484	$6,988
Chicago	4,268	4,786	7,699
Philadelphia	3,603	4,291	6,781
Jersey City	3,976	4,450	6,319
Newark	3,914	4,807	7,530
Miami	3,723	3,367	5,724
Bridgeport	4,147	4,527	6,922

Their lack of English is a serious handicap in obtaining employment. They encounter difficulty in borrowing capital for establishing small businesses. Their unemployment rates are relatively high.

The picture is not all dark, however. The Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor performs a vital function in offering capable Spanish speaking personnel to serve as intermediaries between potential workers and employers. The government and unions have also helped the Puerto Ricans to some extent.

The inequality of opportunity in employment for Puerto Ricans is more the consequence of a clash of cultures, of differing languages and values, and of a new and more complex urban life, than a result of discrimination. Thus, more general education programs are needed, rather than fair employment practices laws.

D. Administration of Justice

The Spanish speaking people have a historical tradition of unequal treatment before the law. In Texas, California, Colorado and Arizona, long records of Mexican lynchings exist.

The Spanish speaking compose 9 percent of the total population of California, but 16.7 percent of the male prisoners newly received from the court in 1960 were from this group. Thirty percent of those arrested for violating narcotics laws in California were Mexican-Americans. They also composed a large percent of the juvenile delinquency admissions to detention facilities in Los Angeles County. Whites of Mexican descent have the lowest percentage of releases, dismissals, and acquittals, and the highest percentage of convictions in California.

Discrimination before the law varies widely, and official legal discrimination is difficult to prove. The root of much of the problem is the inadequate training of policemen, sheriffs, and minor judges. (In Colorado and New Mexico almost any citizen who has reached a certain age can be a sheriff or a justice of the peace without any professional training.)

A major problem for Puerto Ricans is the lack of law enforcement, especially of labor laws on farms and in the cities. In hospitals, hotels, laundries, and restaurants where so many of them work, no minimum wage laws exist. Political parties have tried to organize the Puerto Rican vote and the Commonwealth Migration Division has made great efforts to see that the Puerto Rican exercises his voting right, but more stringent laws are needed to protect Puerto Ricans from exploiting landlords, loan sharks, unscrupulous salesmen and employers.

E. Voting

Little data exists on the subject of the voting patterns of the Spanish speaking, but in most areas it appears that Spanish speaking do not actively participate in the political structure. This is due to: 1) their lack of understanding of the importance of voting, 2) the general apathy concerning registration and voting, 3) their experience with the futility of voting and 4) barriers to voting like literacy tests, discrimination in registration, etc. At the other extreme, in some areas of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, where the Spanish speaking compose a great majority of the population, they have controlled local government for years

in an authoritarian manner with personal patronage and nepotism. The "law" is not so much disobeyed as overlooked in these areas.

The following table shows the counties in the five southwestern states which had the highest and lowest percentages voting of those of eligible age in 1960:

STATE	COUNTY WITH HIGHEST % VOTING OF AGE ELIGIBLE		COUNTY WITH LOWEST % VOTING OF AGE ELIGIBLE	
Arizona	Greenlee	73.7%	Navajo	40.5%
California	Contra Costa	77.3%	Imperial	49 %
Colorado	Costilla	97.5%	El Paso	58.2%
New Mexico	Guadalupe	101.5%	Otero	47.3%
Texas	Duval	64.5%	Zavala	24.7%

A study of precincts with high Spanish speaking populations in Denver showed the Spanish speaking voted overwhelmingly for Kennedy and Knous (both Democrats) in the 1960 election, although Kennedy carried Denver by only 195 votes out of a total 219,085 votes cast.

F. Public Accomodations

Discrimination in public accomodations varies from state to state and even within states. Through legislation at the city and state level, and through the work of minority organizations and agencies like the Texas Good Neighbor Commission, most of this type of discrimination is being gradually eliminated.

G. Health

The state of health of the Spanish speaking has never been optimal, nor have health services and facilities been readily available to them. Other factors such as poor housing conditions, their conceptions of health

and disease, and health behavior, and lack of facilities like sewers, insect and rodent control and garbage disposal, also influence their state of health.

The Spanish speaking have higher infant mortality rates and higher mortality rates with regard to tuberculosis, infective diseases, influenza and pneumonia, than the Anglo. The highest rates of tuberculosis are in Imperial County, California; Guadalupe and Rio Arriba counties in New Mexico; and Kenedy and Zavala counties in Texas.

Operation Bootstrap has resulted in vast improvements in the health conditions of Puerto Rico. Life expectancy on the island rose from 46 years in 1940 to 68 years today. There has been a systematic attack on the most common health hazards - gestation and childbirth; diarrhea; enteritis; tuberculosis; pneumonia and malaria. Now the problem is the mainland tenement slum which leads to mental and physical health problems. The chief difference in health conditions between Puerto Rico and the U.S. is the climate and housing. In the U.S., tenements are dirty, dilapidated, poorly lighted, heated and ventilated, and infested with bugs and rats. The slum conditions of the U.S. cause illness; the people do not bring it with them. In addition, many Puerto Ricans are not culturally ready to make full use of the available medical facilities.

H. Cubans in Miami

The following section is based on visits, interviews and information from the Cuban Refugee Relief Center.

As of August 17, 1962, 138,652 Cuban refugees registered at the

Relief Center in Miami. Under the voluntary resettlement program, 13,484 went to New York City, 100,000 chose to remain in the Miami area, and the rest were divided in New Jersey, California, Illinois and Massachusetts. Most stayed in Miami because it is near their homeland, the climate is similar to Cuba, many of their personal contacts are there, and they are afraid of being isolated elsewhere.

Five waves of refugees have come to the United States seeking asylum:

1. 1959 - politicians, high government employees, armed forces officers of the previous government, businessmen with important relations with the Batista government. These were few in number.

2. January - October 1960 - wealthy families, owners of sugar mills, big cattle ranchers, large private businessmen, owners of sugar cane plantations.

3. November 1960 - Summer 1961 - professionals of all types, business executives, technicians, advertising personnel, mass media executives, importers, representatives of American companies, bank executives, smaller ranchers and plantation owners, university faculty. This has been the largest group to date (August 1962).

4. Summer 1961 - February 1962 - small merchants, office employees, skilled and semiskilled factory workers, lower grade technicians, non-skilled people.

5. March 1962 - present (August 1962) - lower class, non-skilled people.

Most of the refugees are skilled, male, young (under 50), and speak English. Twenty-five percent are professionals and highly skilled; 50 percent are white collar workers; and 25 percent are semi- and unskilled.

Special language programs are being conducted in the Miami area for adults and children. In fall 1962, 17,500 - 18,000 Cuban pupils are

expected in Dade County schools. The surplus of labor has affected the wage rates. Trouble between the Cubans and Negroes, and between the Cubans and Puerto Ricans - especially youth - has occurred.

For the late arrivals, the housing situation is overcrowded. There is thorough health inspection upon arrival and long range care for tuberculosis. The Federal government has undertaken much of the health and educational costs of the refugees as well as their transportation fees for resettlement.

A general feeling of good will is evident toward the Cubans, but some manifestations of prejudice and discrimination do exist in housing and employment. The situation is potentially dangerous, and will worsen as more lower class Cubans enter Miami.

IV. Migratory Labor

Since 1942, when called to meet the war emergency, foreign labor has made tremendous inroads in the agricultural labor market. Displaced domestic workers have been mostly Mexican-Americans who have had to move north to Michigan and the Midwest. The need for foreign migrants no longer exists, but due to the lobbying of the powerful growers and farmers associations, foreign migrants are continually imported, depressing wages, displacing U.S. citizens, and creating a problem of civil rights for the domestic workers. The majority of migrants - both foreign and domestic - are Spanish speaking. It is estimated that there are 1 million migrants - 348,600 foreign, 537,400 domestic, plus their children and other unregistered persons. The foreign and the Puerto Rican workers are protected by contracts with stipulations

concerning housing, health, wages, etc. But the domestic worker has no such protection. In 1960, 75 percent of the Mexican nationals who displaced the Spanish speaking were employed in Texas and California; 20 percent in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Arkansas and Michigan; and five percent scattered throughout the country.

The most pathetic dimension of the domestic migrant's lot is that which involves his children. During fiscal 1958, Labor Department personnel found, on the inspection of 2,000 farms, well over 4,000 children employed in violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Sugar Act of 1937. In October 1950, when school was in session, 150,000 children from 10 to 13 years of age were working, 40,000 of whom were not even enrolled in school.

The wetback is not such a problem as in the 1950s, but in 1961, 30,000 illegally admitted Mexicans were deported. In 1961, 103,670,026 legal Mexican border crossings were registered, including the braceros (agricultural workers), those with temporary work visas, and those who commuted daily to the border areas. Business and industry favor the commuters; but labor is against them. Besides depressing wages, commuters take American currency out of circulation in untold millions; and depress living conditions in border cities (e.g., Laredo, Texas which is now considered a "depressed area").

V. Summary and Conclusions

The history of the Spanish speaking people in the United States differs from other immigrant groups, because the Spanish Americans and Puerto Ricans were conquered peoples upon whom the culture of the conquerers

has been superimposed. Their tradition of passive subservience to authority is the basic difficulty in their assimilating to American society. Language handicaps, skin color, cultural differences, and low socio-economic status are complicating factors in the assimilation process.

The Spanish speaking people suffer from worse education, housing, employment, health, income and occupation than other non-whites and very much worse conditions than the Anglos.

VI. Recommendations

1. Establishment of an agency at the national level to help the Spanish speaking resolve their many problems. This agency would work through existing Spanish speaking organizations, religious agencies, and state and Federal agencies.

2. More field workers for Spanish speaking local organizations to coordinate, investigate and serve as liaison in communities.

3. Need for non-competitive scholarships, not at the university and graduate levels, but at junior and senior high school levels.

4. Attack on the majority problem through programs combatting prejudice, discrimination, and exploitation.

5. More detailed research studies covering a larger number of Spanish speaking people in every aspect of their lives.

6. Establishment of a center for research to coordinate knowledge and programs on minority groups.

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